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CANADIAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE ASSOCIATION •• ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DE JUSTICE PÉNALE

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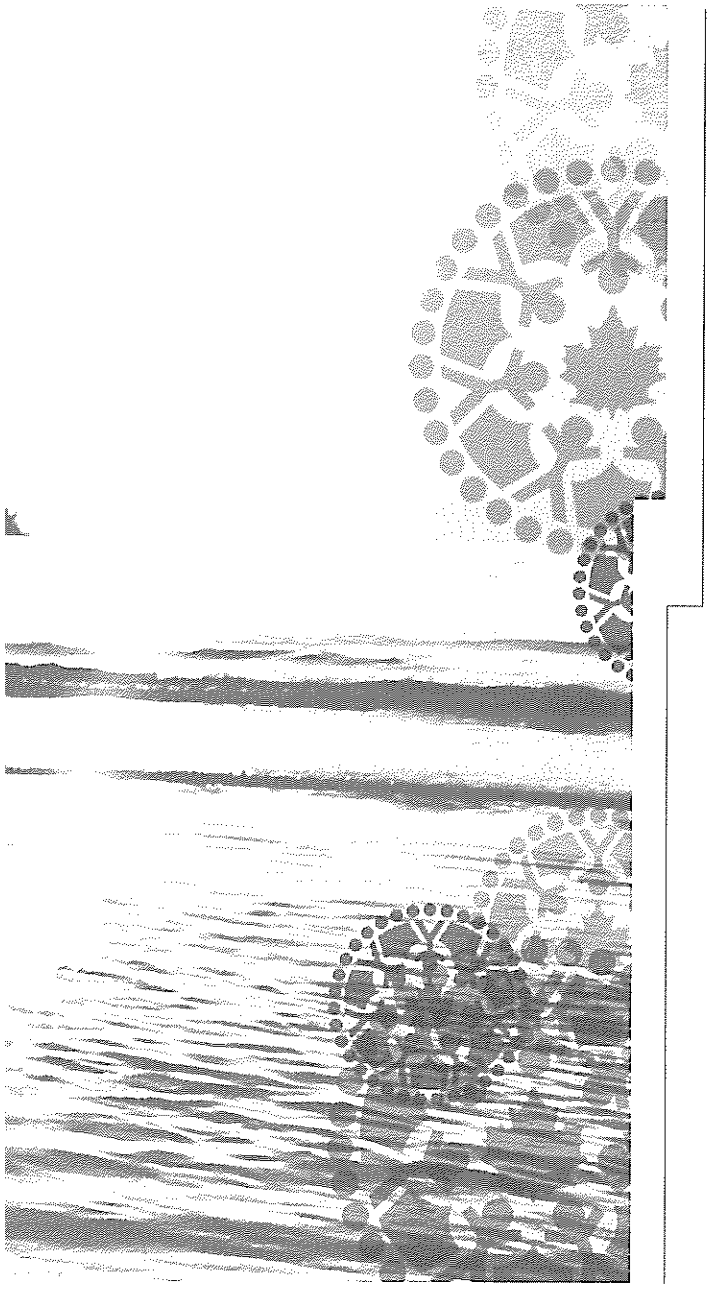

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REDUCING CRIME THE INTELLIGENT WAY: Building Parenting Not Prisons

BY JIM HACKLER, University of Victoria

According to Mr. Harper, the public wants more prisons. I believe he is wrong and that the public would prefer less crime, fewer victims of crime, and lower costs related to crime. More prisons will not achieve such goals.

Admittedly, crime prevention is not easy. Most of our attempts in the past have been relatively unsuccessful. Over a century ago, well meaning people thought that putting criminals in isolated cells where they could pray and be penitent would lead them to give up their criminal ways. The strategy failed.

Today we know that prisons have little, if any effect in reducing crime. Those who might be deterred by prison, such as criminal corporation executives, rarely end up in prison. Less sophisticated offenders who end up in prison often become more involved in more crime ***because of*** their prison experiences.

For many decades, however, we have accumulated considerable evidence that providing a better quality of life for children reduces a variety of social ills, including criminal behaviour. Medical and social science research focused on child development makes it clear that providing effective support to vulnerable first-time mothers helps children become less troubled and less troublesome young adults. Having the basic knowledge of what we should be doing is not the same as actually designing an action program that can be put in place in different communities, carried out with different ethnic groups, and then evaluated in a systematic and scientific way. David Olds, and his colleagues at the University of Colorado, have done just that. Working with pregnant mothers who had few resources and were at risk, these programs utilized public health nurses to deliver the sort of information and support that is potentially available in most communities to the typical middle class family.

The Nurse-Family Partnership (NFP) differs from many mental-health, substance-abuse, and crime-prevention interventions in that it focuses on improving prenatal health, reducing child abuse and neglect, and enhancing family functioning in the first two years of the child's life. Other programs have concentrated on school-aged children in the pre-adolescent or adolescent age range, but these seem to be less effective than programs designed to reduce socio-emotional risks for children at a very early age.

The details and strategy used in these programs are summarized elsewhere (Olds, *et al.*, 2007). I simply wish to highlight some of those results and suggest that these findings provide clear guidelines for social policies — policies that would reduce crime and other undesirable social behaviour, enrich the lives of many people, and save the taxpayers a great deal of money.

The strategy of these programs has a basic theme — to support first-time mothers to become effective parents. The public health nurses helped women to identify health issues, achieve a healthy diet, stop smoking, etc. After delivery, the nurses helped mothers and other caregivers improve the physical and emotional care of their children.

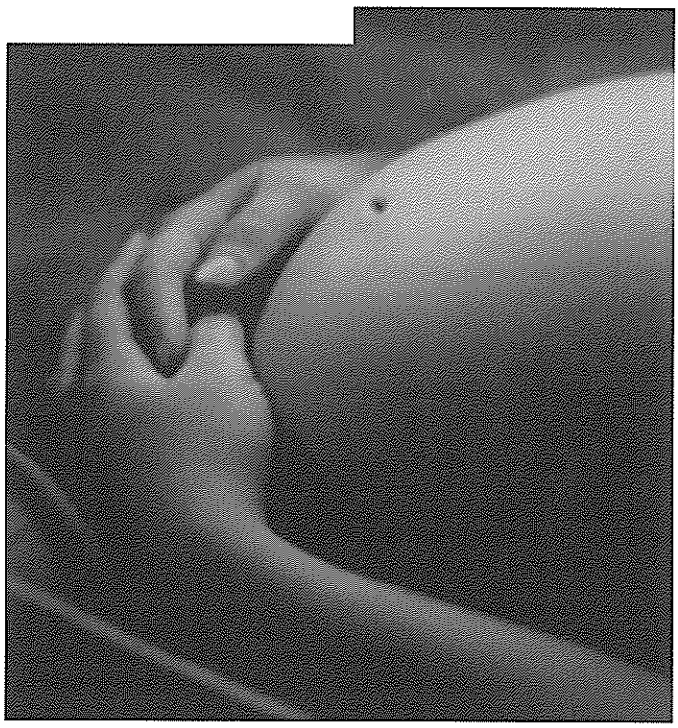
THE ELMIRA, MEMPHIS, AND DENVER STUDIES

The 400 young mothers in the Elmira sample were primarily white single mothers. Compared to their control group, the nurse-visited women improved their diets, smoked 25% fewer cigarettes during pregnancy, had fewer kidney infections, and produced heavier babies. During the first two years of the child's life, nurse-visited children born to low-income, unmarried teens had 80% fewer cases of child abuse and neglect than did their counterparts in the control group.

Clearly, these young mothers were performing better, but did this translate into less crime for their children when they became adolescents? By the time these children were 15 years of age, they were performing better than the comparison group. Those visited by nurses had 69% fewer convictions, 58% fewer sexual partners, smoked 28% fewer cigarettes, and consumed alcohol on 51% fewer days. Not only were there fewer arrests, there were fewer adjudications as Persons in Need of Supervision (PINS) and fewer violations of probation. These effects were greater for children born to mothers who were poor and unmarried at registration. Clearly, better parenting did lead to better social performance in the children (Olds, *et al.*, 1997).

Did being a better mother help the mother to become a better citizen? At the 15-year follow-up, poor unmarried women showed a number of enduring benefits. In contrast to their counterparts in the comparison condition, those visited by nurses both during pregnancy and during the infancy of the child averaged fewer subsequent pregnancies, fewer subsequent births, longer intervals between the birth of their first and second children, fewer months on welfare, and fewer months receiving food stamps. There was a 79% reduction in child abuse and neglect, a 44% reduction in maternal misbehaviour due to alcohol and drug use, and 69% fewer arrests. Obviously, becoming a better mother has a payoff for the mother as well as for the child and society as a whole. The Elmira study focused on young unmarried white women living in a semi-rural area. Would the same strategy work for young disadvantaged black women in an urban setting? The Memphis sample focused on such a population.

During the first 2 years after birth there was an 80% reduction in the number of days in hospital for injuries and ingesting something dangerous compared to the control group. By age 6 there were fewer behavioural and mental health problems. Grades were better in grades 1 to 3 in the nurse supported sample.



At age 12, about 5% of the comparison group children had used tobacco, alcohol, or marijuana in the past 30 days. For the nurse supported group, it was about 1.7%. A similar difference existed for depression.

So the public health nurse advocacy strategy had a major impact on young white and black families. Would it also work for Hispanic families?

The Denver sample involved primarily Hispanic families. Again, those who were visited by public health nurses did better than the comparison groups. Rather than bore the reader with more statistics, let me note a different feature of the Denver study. Paraprofessionals, instead of trained nurses, were also used to deliver services similar to those provided by the public health nurses. The results were not as good as they were when the nurses did the visitations. For policy makers, this may become an issue. David Olds and his colleagues are very cautious about using strategies that do not meet the standards achieved by well trained public health nurses.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR CANADA

The policy implications of these carefully evaluated scientific studies should be obvious. If public health nurses can dramatically change the lives of white, black, and Hispanic families, wouldn't they have the same impact on aboriginal families in Canada? Or immigrant families struggling in large cities? Each study showed that the most significant improvements were seen in high-risk, low-resource families. These are the very families that many better-off citizens in Canada feel are hopeless, that are beyond help. And yet psychologists like Albert Bandura (1977) have shown that when people recognize that there is hope, they can and do change. These nurse visitation programs offer such hope.

Fortunately, the potential for public health nurse visitation programs in Canada is rather good — ***assuming the appropriate political leaders will act on the evidence that is available to them***. A pilot study of the feasibility of the NFP is close to completion in Hamilton, Ontario. The next step is a trial comparing the NFP to a control group (existing services) in Canada to determine if the same benefits observed in the US can be produced within the Canadian context.

In Victoria, Cecilia Benoit, at the University of Victoria, is doing a less systematic evaluation of a program designed to provide better support for pregnant women who face challenges. The ***HerWay Home Program*** will involve 75-100 women in its first year, growing to 250 women by year three. The program anticipates supporting approximately 300 women annually thereafter.

Admittedly, one must not be prematurely optimistic about all programs that hope to provide better services for young mothers-to-be. David Olds and his colleagues caution us that programs that do not meet the standards of the Nurse-Family Partnerships may be less effective. Whether to support less rigorous programs or focus instead on those programs that have shown positive

results in scientifically designed evaluations, is a question that should be debated. However, support for young mothers and their infants clearly is one of the most promising strategies for having a genuine impact on crime in the future.And by the way, one study showed that Elmira, Memphis, and Denver programs saved society about $17,000 per family. Isn't that better than spending a half-million dollars per inmate to build a prison and then consuming $50,000 to $100,000 per inmate per year to keep it full?

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CANADIAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE ASSOCIATION AWARDS
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PRIX D'EXCELLENCE
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LE PRIX DU MÉRITE permettra de reconnaître les personnes qui se sont illustrées par leur contribution à l'amélioration du système de justice pénale au Canada et à l'atteinte des objectifs de l'ACJP.

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To commemorate the contribution of the late **SENATOR EARL HASTINGS** to the Canadian criminal justice system and the CCJA, this Award honours Canadians who, although they do not work in the criminal justice system, have made an outstanding contribution over many years to the Canadian criminal justice system.

Créé dans le but de commémorer la contribution de feu le **SÉNATEUR EARL HASTINGS** au système de justice pénale et à l'ACJP, ce Prix veut honorer des Canadiens et des Canadiennes qui, même s'ils n'oeuvrent pas dans le domaine de la justice pénale, y ont tout de même contribué de manière exceptionnelle sur plusieurs années.

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CRIME AND PUNISHMENT? OR HARM AND REDRESS?

Reflections on Restitution and Community Service (CS) as Desirable Alternatives in Sentencing Practice

BY SVEINN A. THORVALDSON

Reports of committees hurry past the fundamental issues... Writers of text-books on criminal law dispose of them in a few smooth paragraphs, knowing that they are skating on thin ice, with deep waters underneath... The deep waters are where the moral philosophers lurk, preying like sharks on each other and on practitioners who are careless enough to put their feet through the ice. **— Nigel Walker, 1991.**

INTRODUCTION

In several columns in the *National Post* over the past year (e.g. May 29/10, Dec 11/10 and March 18/11) Conrad Black roundly criticizes the current federal criminal sentencing policy and, specifically, the prison building program. While he "believes in the repentance and confession for wrongdoing", he argues that "except for violent criminals and chronic non-violent recidivists... [imprisonment be] replaced by closely supervised *pro bono* or subsistence paid work...." He indicates that his views are at least partly influenced by his recent experience as a prison inmate. This prompts me to tell some of my own story from, as it were, the other end of the criminal justice system, followed by a discussion of some of the issues raised.

As a probation officer for some six years in the early '60s I never confronted offenders in moral terms. Juvenile or adult, probationer or parolee, I never said to them, even gently: "You did a lot of harm. You knew what you were doing and that it was wrong. Is there some way you can make amends? Only *you* can do that. Perhaps I can help." Nor, of course, did I have any contact with victims. For a time, I wrote reports for two very different magistrates: one the 'liberal humanist' and the other the 'conservative moralist'. I liked them both. In the process, I gradually became aware of the conflict between my job – described then as understanding, advising and assisting offenders – and holding them morally accountable.

By the late '60s, I was at Oakalla, the main provincial receiving jail at the time, and in charge of classifying convicted offenders to various camps and programs. The panel and I were often confronted by offenders who did not require anything like that level of control. Meanwhile, 'corrections' was in turmoil. Research had largely failed to show, at that time, the effectiveness of *rehabilitation* as a sentencing principle, and since it logically required more or less indeterminate sentences with uncertain end dates, it was also attacked on both humanitarian and political grounds. More positively,

some degree of "accountability" was coming back: we began to hear of "encounter" and "confrontation" groups, "reality therapy" and "challenge programs", all designed to push offenders toward a greater sense of responsibility; not so much, it should be noted, for the harms they had caused others but at least for managing their *own lives*. Also we saw the start of the victim movement: What about *us*! What about *justice*!

TRAJECTORY OF SENTENCING IN CANADA

In the early '70s, first the Advisory Council on the Penal System in the UK and then the Law Reform Commission of Canada (LRCC) published reports strongly recommending the development of a range of non-custodial sentences (or sentence components), particularly *restitution* (money payment by the offender to the victim) and *community service* (CS) (unpaid public or charitable work) by offenders. In 1973, I undertook doctoral studies at the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cambridge, proposing to investigate the rationale, effectiveness and potential of the new CS sentence which had just started in England. The Institute was headed by the distinguished British sentencing theorist Nigel Walker, and was the place to be.

My research was intended "to test what the moralists have been saying for so long". It called for selecting three matched groups of offenders serving sentences representing three different sentencing aims: the fine (punishment), probation (rehabilitation) and CS (reparation), and compared the effects of the sentences on their attitudes. The fined group tended to be negative, critical and sometimes bitter; the probation group ready to appreciate the good intent of the court but frequently indifferent or even negative about its relevance to their problems; the CS group was not only significantly more positive about their sentence but tended to see it as "a good idea". They also generally scored significantly higher than the other groups on several attitude scales, particularly "understanding the rights of others" and the "sense of integration". They seemed, in short, to appreciate the moral principle their sentence implied: that they were "giving something back to society". These results were as predicted, based on a review of the social, moral and developmental psychology of the time. But while the study had, for practical reasons, tested the effects of CS on *offenders*, I had always seen such an empirical study as a disciplined 'way in' to the theoretical issue concerning the role or justification of *redress* as a criminal sentencing principle. Both CS and restitution seemed to be perceived by offenders, and certainly readily so by victims and the public, as methods of 'doing justice' in criminal sentencing. *Retribution* ("punishment according to deserts") is of course the usual (negative) way of doing so. The notion of "criminal redress" proposed, alternatively, to hold offenders accountable in a material and positive way, in a way more compatible than retribution with simultaneous efforts to rehabilitate them. It implied that what is wrong with retribution is not its *ends* (moral accountability), but its *means* (inflicting pain).

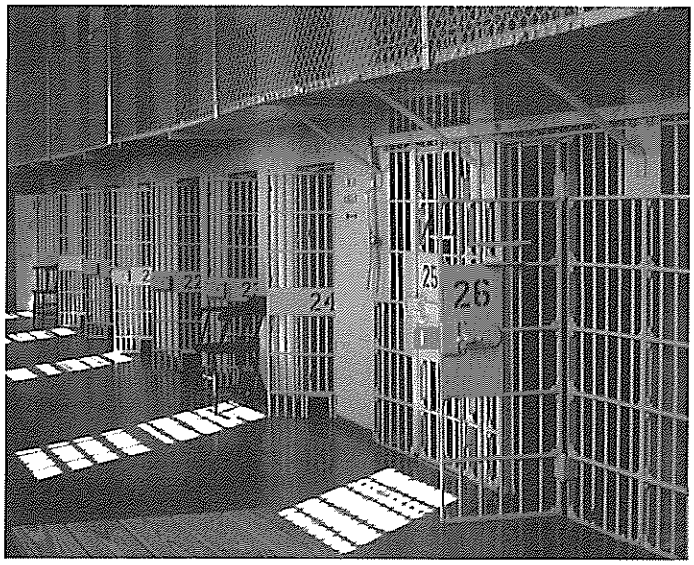
Whether redress as a sentencing aim, and CS and restitution as sentencing methods, should be provided

for in sentencing legislation in a robust way, and be a priority in sentencing practice, then depends on how seriously we take doing justice in sentencing to be. A review of some of the literature suggested that, to quote from my thesis,

> Justice since ancient times has been seen as the master moral principle or norm in any society, culturally universal and primordial in its origins; roughly equivalent in function to the concept of social reciprocity, the principle that makes cooperative social exchange, and hence survival, ... possible at all ... We live in what has been called the 'shadow of indebtedness', an enduring, pervading and powerful system of mutual obligation and the essential basis of social order ... doing justice might take a variety of forms but however it is done it appears vital that it be done – a balance must be restored if not in whole then in part, if not immediately then over time, if not in fact, then at least in principle, at least symbolically.

The unique character of CS as a symbolic expression of the principle of justice, particularly when the work is of a manifestly charitable sort, was noted. At the psychological (offender) level, it appeared that "if the individual maintains a reasonable degree of equity in his exchanges with others – pays his debts, rights his wrongs, returns 'gift' for 'gift' – he ensures continuing contact, and experiences a sense of integration with others". As the poet Robert Frost famously phrased it, we cannot tarry long by the wayside; we have "promises to keep".

Back in Canada, through the late '70s and early '80s sentencing reform for both juveniles and adults was well underway. "Doing justice" — sometimes now called *neo-retributivism* (and also *denunciation* as a sentencing principle) — was back in the literature. "Holding offenders accountable" and paying greater attention to the "plight of the forgotten victim" had become new sentencing policy objectives for both juveniles and adults. CS programs were appearing all across Canada (as in the UK and the US). Now serving as research director for the policy planning division of the BC Ministry of the Attorney General, I was able to conduct further research on both the theory and use of CS and restitution in Canada at the time. This included a review of some of the jurisprudence with respect to the nature and function of the criminal law in society. The review concluded that the principle of redress *for a crime* was consistent with the conception of criminal law not simply as a set of rules enforced by the state by repressive methods but law as the "codification of morality", as the minimal expression of the golden rule; law, as the LRCC had put it, as the protector of the "core values" of a society. The law under this view functions as a 'moral shaping force', with the criminal court as theatre, as a 'morality play' with the victim appearing as 'everyman'. This is, of course, an idealistic conception, ambitious and optimistic about the capacity of human beings for moral growth and about the effectiveness of the criminal court as a moral educator. Consider, in contrast, the 'realism' of the principle of *deterrence*, which has nothing to do with justice and everything to do with the power of the state to intimidate (and ultimately terrorize) the offender and the public; it does not appeal for rational cooperation but simply demands obedience. It implies that most of us, most of the time, obey the law not because it is *right* but because we might get caught. It has no inherent limits; whatever works./ It becomes clear here, incidentally, why the retributivists say that they are the only ones who would both protect offenders (and us all) from the power of the state, but also respect the 'human dignity' of offenders.



A major event in policy development was the convening of *Crime and Redress: National Symposium on Reparation by Offenders* in 1982 in Vancouver. The two-day event was attended by academics (law and criminology) from Canada, the UK and the US, prosecutors, police, probation and CS administrators from across Canada and federal and provincial policy planners. The rationale, legal status and administrative practicality of CS and restitution were extensively debated, revealing, as expected, considerable controversy. In the opening address I argued the case as described above - and as the title of the *Symposium* implied - that both CS and restitution had to be justified in sentencing primarily because they represented redress as a positive and humane way to do justice in sentencing, and accordingly that, because of the importance of justice as a moral principle in society, both should be provided for in a "robust" way in the *Code* and deserved high priority in sentencing practice. Others, while generally sympathetic, expressed very different views. With respect to CS, some, taking a politically radical position, distrusted the integrity of the criminal law itself (notwithstanding our democracy); they feared that CS would become "just another punishment" which might serve only to "widen the net" of state power; they indeed raised the spectre of a return to hard labour and the chain gang. As for restitution, some doubted the validity of the conventional distinction between civil and criminal law, and therefore the need for any effort to distinguish restitution from civil 'damages'. Some tended to see crime in quasi-civil terms as a 'dispute' or 'conflict', and would rather see restitution and CS as part of a return to a more informal settlement or "restorative justice" procedure involving the community, the victim and the offender as separate parties. Libertarians were worried about the long term 'bonding' of citizens and about inequality in the application of such sanctions, with the rich paying off the offence while the poor had to work it off. Traditional lawyers saw restitution as basically a civil remedy, and as such potentially requiring extensive enquiries, for which a criminal court had neither the time nor the expertise. In any case they considered it to be hardly "the main business of a criminal court", perhaps useful occasionally but at best an "ancillary" matter in sentencing. (In fact, the *Zelensky* case in 1978 in Canada's Supreme Court had so decided.) Some participants ultimately in fact began to question whether a discussion of CS and restitution belonged in the same conference. Pragmatists, to say the least, were impatient with all of this, arguing that redress by offenders was a self-evident moral imperative - "just plain common sense".

To end this tale, in 1984 the federal Ministry of Justice published Sentencing, a review of sentencing theory and practice as an introduction to the *Criminal Law Reform Act* 1984 (Bill C-19). The Bill was "to provide effective, tough, non-carceral penalties... such as Community Service Orders... and increased use of restitution to victims..." Drawing upon one of my previous papers, the review makes a sharp distinction between restitution

as a civil remedy, intended to resolve a dispute, and its use as a criminal sanction intended to 'do justice'. The Bill therefore included the power to order "punitive damages", a term evidently taken from the civil law, and which, while well-meaning, tended to blur the common distinction between the civil and criminal law, and no doubt did more harm than good. It did, however, represent at least a crude and minimal attempt to provide for restitution in a flexible way consistent with conventional sentencing theory and practice. The Bill died with the defeat of the Liberals that summer. A similar broad conception of restitution was, as far as I know, never seriously considered again, and never appeared in later bills.

RESTITUTION AND COMMUNITY SERVICE (CS)

Let us look, then - after such huge efforts years ago in Canada and elsewhere to establish restitution and CS as "tough" sentencing options - at the actual provision for them in our present *Criminal Code*. CS is permitted to a maximum of 240 hours to be completed within 18 months. In practice, CS orders are of course far shorter and, I am told, often not firmly or consistently enforced. It seems obvious that it is used primarily as an extra *rehabilitative* technique - "to promote a sense of responsibility in offenders" – and a 240-hour limit is perhaps plenty for that. Certainly various good effects of CS on offenders have always been foreseen and welcome – lots of research, including my own, shows that – but such a limit means that it is clearly *not* regarded as a way to do justice in the eyes of the public. It is therefore not surprising that the public does not see CS as a credible alternative to the prison but rather as a 'soft option', useful perhaps only for juveniles and minor adult offenders. To function as an important alternative to imprisonment – of the sort Conrad Black seems to have in mind - CS must be permitted in far larger amounts be completed over far longer periods of time, and limited, at least in principle, by tariffs which are roughly commensurate in severity to current punitive tariffs.

As for restitution, justifying it as a criminal sanction – specifically as a means of doing justice in sentencing - is a good deal more complicated. *The Code* now at least no longer requires that the victim must apply for it, but it is still restricted to material or pecuniary harms to victims "where the amount is easily ascertainable". Such a restriction clearly implies that a claim for restitution is in fact treated, as it is often put, as "essentially a civil remedy", offered to victims on grounds of convenience and compassion, not principle. First, on a purely practical level, the restriction to material harms puts all inchoate offenses (attempts, threats, etc.) and the most serious category of crime – offences against the person – largely beyond the reach of restitution. A *home* is broken into, and the victim is asked what it cost to fix a broken window. A woman sexually assaulted is, appallingly, advised that she may claim such pecuniary losses as the cost of any medical care or lost income due to time off work. But further, and of far more significance, such a listing of 'compensable' material terms is simply incompatible with the social or public nature of such harm. A crime, by definition, is a harm *to society*. The harm may be seen as "disobedience of state authority", as "violation of the law", or as "breach of a moral principle" - whatever theory of criminal law you prefer - but it is always abstract in nature. To declare a given harm a *crime* is to change the nature of that harm; when redress in the form of restitution is at issue, it is to change what the offender pays *for*.

Of course the so-called 'actual' or 'substantive' harms – the theft, the fraud, the assault - indeed any of the harms to a citizen or to the society, material or immaterial, which made the offence a crime in the first place must be admitted or proved at the trial stage in order justly to convict the offender. But they are not the criminal

harm itself; they remain, at the sentencing hearing, the *evidence* of the crime no less so than at the trial stage, serving here as indicators or measures (coupled with an estimate of the degree of culpability of the offender) of the seriousness or 'gravity' of the offence as an injustice, a failure to consider the reciprocal rights of others. This means that the approach to assessing the appropriate restitution must be the same as that when the court is considering any other criminal sanction, perhaps particularly the (retributive) fine. Indeed, case law shows that the courts have already decided that discovery proceedings, or any other strenuous efforts to determine 'quantum', are neither necessary nor appropriate in that particular court.

Interpreted in this way, restitution can be readily justified in terms of the social aims of criminal sentencing. Judges need not be concerned (as some quite properly now are) about confusing criminal and civil procedures and thus compromising the integrity of the criminal court or the clarity of its crucial public role in society. And the *Code* need only provide, as it now does for the fine, that the court may order money payment, with proper attention to the offender's capacity to pay - potentially over a considerable period of time and subject to amendment with changing circumstances - to a citizen or to the community, or to both, as redress.

As for the role of the victim, the *Code* now requires that the victim enforce a restitution order "as if it were a judgment rendered ... in civil proceedings", not as a public duty but as they see fit. No other criminal sanction, as far as I know, requires enforcement by private citizens as they deem appropriate. Such a requirement literally implies that the victim appears in a private capacity or 'third party' seeking to protect private interests. Accordingly - unless one is advocating some sort of 'coalescence' or combination of criminal and civil procedure (which is the practice in civil law counties and often advocated here) - the victim can have no legal status in our criminal courts; at best that of a supplicant. We need only note the striking difference between the way the *Code* describes compensable harms and the way victims themselves describe the harms they suffer and their motives for restitution. They speak from the heart. While the courts talk of "losses", "costs" and even "out of pocket expenses", victims speak of "recognition" of their suffering and "vindication" of their innocence; of the crime as a "humiliation"; of a lingering "sense of insecurity", and above all of the *injustice* of the offence. Nor do victims expect full compensation, in most cases.

In short, while the *Code* speaks in the language of a civil dispute, victims speak in terms wholly consonant with the social ends of the criminal law, as *citizens* seeking to protect their integrity as such. No other source of funds can do that. It seems they understand perfectly well the difference between civil and criminal proceedings. It is small wonder that they often feel bewildered, frustrated, demeaned, and even betrayed. A crime *means*, of course, that a harm to one is a harm to all. This means in turn that the harm to an individual, as citizen, is the harm to the society, and that citizens harmed therefore stand as surrogates for the community, precisely the same status they have when they appear, as good citizens, as 'witnesses' at the trial stage of criminal proceedings. And the public prosecutor of course is automatically their advocate, their protector. Indeed, only if the victim manifestly participates in a public capacity can that participation *have* public significance; only then can it carry the integrating moral message of the criminal law.

(To be continued in the next issue of the Justice Report)

UTILISATION DES SOMMAIRES D'ÉVALUATION pour le transfert de connaissances

PAR DONNA SMITH-MONCRIEFFE,
Sécurité publique Canada Centre national de prévention du crime

Le Centre national de prévention du crime (CNPC) de Sécurité publique Canada a le mandat de développer et de diffuser des connaissances sur les interventions efficaces de prévention du crime au Canada afin d'orienter la prise de décisions et la pratique.

Les études de recherche axées sur l'évaluation de projets financés constituent un outil clé pour le développement de connaissances fiables (le CNPC a déjà publié un article sur les pratiques d'évaluation pour l'Association canadienne de justice pénale; voir Association canadienne de justice pénale, volume 23, nos 2 et 3, 2009). Au CNPC, il y a deux façons principales de procéder pour les études d'évaluation. Certaines sont intégrées à l'accord de contribution, dans le cas où l'organisation embauche l'évaluateur de programmes pour mener l'évaluation. Au cours des dernières années, l'approche privilégiée consistait à ce que le CNPC conclut un contrat directement avec des évaluateurs. Dans les deux cas, si les études d'évaluation satisfont aux normes minimales de qualité, les rapports d'évaluation sont résumés et leurs résultats sont diffusés le plus largement possible.

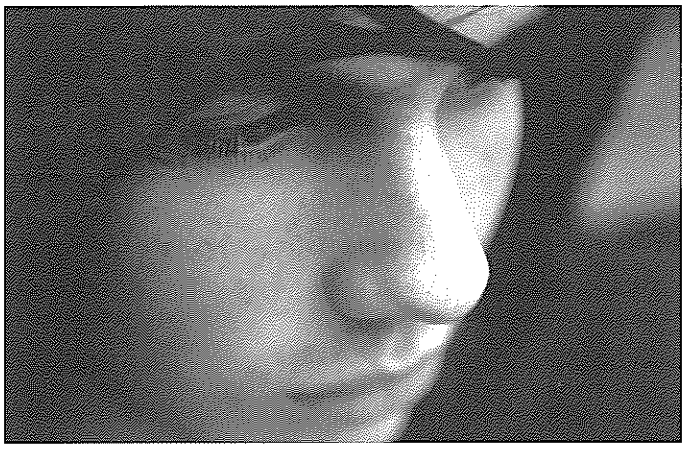
Au cours des quatre dernières années, le CNPC a publié de nombreux sommaires de ses rapports d'évaluation dans le cadre de la série L'épreuve des faits (voir le site Web de Sécurité publique Canada à l'adresse **http://www.securitepublique.gc.ca/prg/cp/ncpc-pubs-fra.aspx**).

Le texte qui suit est un sommaire d'évaluation d'une pratique prometteuse évaluée par une organisation bénéficiaire en 2007.

FAMILY ADOLESCENT *STRAIGHT TALK (FAST) - DAY SUSPENSION PROGRAM* – SOMMAIRE D'ÉVALUATION

INTRODUCTION

Le Family Adolescent Straight Talk (FAST) est un centre de soins ambulatoires de la région d'Halton, en Ontario, qui aide les adolescents et leurs familles en crise. Les services du FAST comprennent des services tels que des interventions en situation de crise, des évaluations de l'adolescent, des consultations psychologiques et du counseling en matière de toxicomanie, du counseling auprès des parents, des programmes de maîtrise de la colère et de gestion du stress ainsi que des programmes de prévention de la rechute.



Le FAST Day Suspension Program, financé par le Centre national de prévention du crime (CNPC) entre 2007 et 2009, visait les jeunes à risque élevé de 12 à 18 ans qui ont été suspendus de leur école primaire ou secondaire en raison de leur consommation de drogues ou de leurs comportements anti-sociaux, notamment l'intimidation, la violence physique et l'école buissonnière.

Le principal objectif du programme était d'assurer que les jeunes ne consomment pas de drogues pendant leur suspension de leur école.

Les objectifs secondaires comprenaient :

- l'amélioration de la réussite scolaire des participants;
- l'accroissement de l'employabilité des participants;
- le renforcement des relations prosociales;
- l'amélioration de la santé physique et mentale des participants.

Le programme a été conçu afin d'appuyer une utilisation productive de la suspension en offrant aux participants un soutien quotidien à l'éducation, une formation sur les compétences professionnelles et du counseling. Le programme a adopté une approche holistique pour les soins aux jeunes, en faisant participer activement la famille et en adoptant une approche préventive afin de résoudre les problèmes familiaux sousjacents qui contribuent au fait que les jeunes quittent leur domicile, ont des problèmes à l'école et/ou sont accusés ou condamnés.

Le programme FAST a été administré auprès de 28 élèves de niveau primaire et secondaire qui avaient été suspendus de l'école. Les périodes de suspension des participants allaient de 5 à 16 jours. Chaque jour, les participants prenaient part à des séances d'une demi-journée axées sur les travaux scolaires. De plus, on leur présentait des ateliers sur des sujets pertinents tels que la maîtrise de la colère, les compétences professionnelles et la consommation de drogues illicites.

Le programme proposait un cycle de thérapie de 12 semaines : les jeunes participaient à des séances de counseling individuelles hebdomadaires (au minimum), se soumettaient régulièrement à des tests de dépistage de drogues, participaient à des rencontres de suivi avec les intervenants et recevaient du soutien de la part de ces derniers. Certains jeunes ont continué de rencontrer le personnel de FAST pendant plus d'un an après la fin du programme. FAST a fourni des séances d'éducation et de counseling à 57 membres des familles afin de les aider à rétablir les relations entre eux.

ÉVALUATION DU PROGRAMME

L'évaluation des résultats visait avant tout à déterminer si les objectifs du programme ont été atteints. L'évaluation se résumait à un seul test de groupe postérieur au programme et elle comprenait les éléments suivants :

Collecte de statistiques du client (N=28) — Les indicateurs clés liés à l'assiduité scolaire, au rendement scolaire, à la consommation de drogue, etc. ont été consignés.

Examen de documents — Cet examen incluait des rapports de projets, des documents de promotion, des formulaires d'admission, des contrats familiaux, etc.

Dépistage des drogues — FAST a mis sur pied des tests de dépistage de drogues complets pour les participants afin de promouvoir un comportement sain et de veiller à ce qu'ils ne consomment pas de drogues et qu'ils respectent les conditions de leur retour à l'école. Il s'agissait donc d'une source vitale d'information objectivement vérifiable pour les évaluateurs concernant les résultats à court terme du programme.

Sondages — Les participants (N=28) et les parents (N=28) ont rempli les questionnaires à la fin du programme. Les questions portaient sur de nombreux sujets, dont la situation actuelle des participants, les niveaux de comportement à risque élevé, les antécédents scolaires, les niveaux de consommation de drogues, la santé, la participation au programme et la satisfaction du participant.

Études de cas — Des questionnaires détaillés ont été remis à la famille d'un participant ayant terminé le programme et à la famille d'un participant ne l'ayant pas mené à terme. Ces questionnaires comprenaient des mesures précises afin d'évaluer les changements d'attitudes et ils ont été conçus pour fournir davantage de renseignements sur les résultats du participant, malgré l'absence d'un prétest.

Entrevues téléphoniques — Le directeur du programme a procédé à des entrevues téléphoniques avec des participants (N=7) et des parents (N=28). Les entrevues ont eu lieu environ 6 mois et 1 an après la fin du programme, et les résultats ont été validés auprès des autres sources d'information afin de vérifier les conclusions.

CONCLUSIONS CLÉS

L'évaluation a confirmé les résultats suivants :

Réduction de la consommation de drogues et abstinence

La marijuana était la drogue de choix des participants, même s'ils avaient consommé plusieurs autres drogues illicites avant d'être suspendus. Les résultats des tests de dépistage de drogue ont confirmé que 93 % des participants ont réussi à ne pas consommer à nouveau des drogues durant la période d'observation et de dépistage de drogues de six semaines après le programme.

Réussite scolaire

Tous les participants du programme ont réussi à faire leurs travaux scolaires durant la suspension et, à l'exception de deux participants, ils sont tous retournés à l'école primaire ou secondaire. En outre, ils ont tous apporté des changements positifs notables dans leur approche et leur attitude vis-à-vis l'éducation. Ils ont amélioré leur rendement, augmentant leurs notes, en moyenne, de 25 %. Cinq des sept participants ont affirmé qu'ils étaient d'excellents étudiants (leurs parents ont confirmé). Les participants de la première année qui ont été contactés un an après la fin du programme se sont dits intéressés par des études postsecondaire. Le taux élevé de réussite des participants était dû au fait que leur perception de l'importance de l'éducation a changé et qu'ils ont compris qu'ils ne pourraient pas retourner à l'école, à moins de cesser toute consommation de drogues.

Employabilité accrue

Tous les participants ont pu garder ou se trouver un

emploi à temps partiel. Les participants qui vendaient de la drogue se sont trouvé des emplois à temps partiel et ont appris à vivre avec le salaire moindre d'un véritable emploi au lieu de l'argent provenant de la vente de drogues.

Relations prosociales renforcées

Le programme a amélioré la capacité des participants à communiquer efficacement et à renouer des relations de confiance avec leur famille et leurs amis. Un contrat familial personnalisé a été mis sur pied afin d'établir les grandes lignes d'un plan d'action visant à rétablir les relations familiales et/ou de faciliter le retour dans la maison familiale. Le participant et sa famille devaient tous signer ce contrat. Tous les participants nous ont dit qu'ils progressaient, apportant des changements personnels positifs et renforçant leurs relations avec leur famille et leurs amis.

Meilleure santé physique et mentale

Tous les répondants du sondage ont indiqué que leur santé physique et mentale s'était améliorée grâce au programme. La santé et le comportement des participants qui avaient déjà eu des comportements automutilateurs (coupures et/ou brûlures) se sont grandement améliorés. On a constaté que les participantes avaient besoin d'une aide professionnelle prolongée, qu'elles étaient davantage déprimées, qu'elles souffraient de plus de troubles de l'alimentation et qu'elles avaient plus tendance à s'automutiler. Le programme a permis d'orienter les participantes vers d'autres programmes qui pourraient les aider à surmonter leurs troubles de l'alimentation et leurs troubles mentaux, et à prévenir les pratiques sexuelles non sécuritaires.

Recommandations

Les parents ont joué un rôle central dans le programme FAST et il a été constaté que la participation active de la famille était essentielle pour la réussite de la plupart des participants. L'évaluation a recommandé qu'un groupe de soutien parental (pendant et après le traitement) soit ajouté au Day Suspension Program pour les prochaines fois afin de donner l'occasion aux parents de discuter de leur situation entre eux. Le rapport d'évaluation a aussi recommandé que les évaluations futures du FAST soient conçues afin de documenter les changements longitudinaux pour un éventail de variables de résultats et d'inclure un questionnaire prétest.

Conclusion

Le FAST Day Suspension Program a réussi à appuyer les élèves suspendus et à les aider à surmonter les comportements liés à la consommation de drogues, à retourner à l'école ainsi qu'à améliorer leur assiduité scolaire et leurs notes. En outre, le programme a aidé les jeunes à améliorer leur employabilité et à développer des relations prosociales avec leur famille et leurs pairs, et il a permis d'orienter les jeunes vers des programmes pour les aider à aborder leurs problèmes de santé physique et mentale.

USING EVALUATION SUMMARIES to Transfer Knowledge

BY DONNA SMITH-MONCRIEFFE,
Public Safety Canada, National Crime Prevention Centre

Public Safety Canada's National Crime Prevention Centre (NCPC) has a mandate to develop and disseminate the knowledge base of effective crime prevention interventions in Canada, in order to influence decision-making and practice.

A key tool to develop robust knowledge is through conducting evaluative research studies of funded projects (NCPC published an earlier article in CCJC on evaluation practice; see CCJA Volume 23, Nos. 2-3, 2009). Evaluation studies in the NCPC are conducted through two principal funding mechanisms. Some are integrated under the contribution agreement where the organization hires the program evaluator to conduct the evaluation. The preferred approach in recent years is for the NCPC to contract directly with evaluators. In either case, if the evaluation studies meet minimum standards of quality, evaluation reports are synthesized and their results are disseminated as broadly as possible.

Over the past four years, the NCPC has published numerous summaries of its evaluation reports under the Building the Evidence series (see Public Safety Canada's Website **http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/prg/cp/ncpc-pubs-eng)**.

The following text is an evaluation summary of a promising practice evaluated by a funded organization in 2007.

FAMILY ADOLESCENT STRAIGHT TALK (FAST) - DAY SUSPENSION PROGRAM – EVALUATION SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

Family Adolescent Straight Talk (FAST) is an outpatient treatment centre in Halton Region, Ontario, that helps adolescents and families in crisis. FAST's services include crisis intervention, adolescent assessment, psychological and addictions counselling, parent counselling, anger and stress management programs, and relapse prevention programs.

FAST Day Suspension Program, funded by the National Crime Prevention Centre (NCPC) from 2007 to 2009, targeted high-risk youth aged 12 to 18 who had been suspended from elementary or high school due to drug use or other anti-social behaviours including bullying, physical violence and truancy.

The primary objective of the program was to ensure that youth remained drug free during their school suspension.

Secondary objectives included:

- improving participants' success in school;
- increasing participants' employability;
- strengthening pro-social relationships; and
- improving physical and mental health.

The program was designed to support productive use of the suspension period, offering participants daily academic support, employment skills training and counselling. The program pursued a holistic approach to youth care, actively involving the family and taking a preventive approach to resolve the underlying family-related issues that contributed to the youth leaving the family home, getting in trouble at school, and/or getting charged or convicted.

FAST worked with 28 elementary and high school students who had been suspended from school. Participants' suspension periods ranged from 5 to 16 days. Half-day sessions were provided on each of these

days, focusing on school work. In addition, workshops were held on relevant topics such as anger management, employment skills and illegal drug use.

The program featured a 12-week therapy cycle: youth participated in weekly one-on-one counselling sessions (at a minimum), underwent regular drug testing, and had follow-up contact and support. Some youth have continued to meet with FAST staff for more than a year after the end of the program. FAST provided education and counselling sessions to 57 family members of participants as a way to help rebuild relationships.

EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAM

As an outcome evaluation, the primary objective was to determine if the program objectives were achieved. The evaluation used a single group posttest design, involving:

Client statistical tracking (N=28) — Key indicators related to school attendance, performance, drug use, etc., were documented.

Document review — This review included project reports, promotional materials, intake forms, family contracts, etc.

Drug testing — FAST implemented comprehensive drug testing for participants to promote healthy

behaviour and to ensure they were drug free and ready to meet the conditions of their transition back to school. This provided a key source of objectively verifiable information to evaluators about the short-term outcomes of the program.

Surveys — Questionnaires were completed by participants (N=28) and parents (N=28) at the end of the program. Questions included: participants' current circumstances, levels of high-risk behaviour, educational history, levels of drug use, health, program participation and participant satisfaction.

Case studies — In-depth questionnaires were administered to the families of one successful client and one client who did not complete the program. These instruments incorporated specific measures to assess attitudinal change and were designed to provide further information about client outcomes in the absence of a pre-testing phase.

Telephone interviews — The Program Director conducted telephone interviews with participants (N=7) and parents (N=28). Interviews were conducted about six months and one year after participants completed the program, and the results were triangulated with the other sources of information to verify the findings.

KEY FINDINGS

The evaluation verified the following outcomes:

Reduced drug use and abstinence

Marijuana had been participants' drug of choice, while a range of other illicit drugs were also being used prior to the participants' suspension. The results of drug testing confirmed that 93 percent of participants were successful in becoming drug free and maintaining abstinence during the six-week observation and drug-testing period after the program.

Success in School

All program participants kept up with academic assignments during the suspension period, and all but two re-entered elementary and secondary school and made significant positive changes in their approach and attitude to education. They improved their school performance, increasing their grades by an average of 25 percent. Five of the seven survey respondents (with their parents concurring) identified themselves as honours students. First-year participants who were contacted after one year expressed an interest in moving on to post-secondary education. The high success rate of participants was due to their increased perception of the importance of education and a recognition that they would not be allowed to return to school unless they stopped using drugs.

Increased employability

All participants maintained or obtained part-time employment. The participants who had been selling drugs found part-time jobs and learned how to live with reduced income from legitimate employment as opposed to money from drug sales.

Strengthened pro-social relationships

The program enhanced participants' ability to communicate effectively and rebuild trusting relationships with their family and friends. A customized family contract was developed, outlining an action plan to repair relationships with family members and/or facilitate a return home. This contract was signed by both the client and his or her family. All participants reported progress in making positive personal changes and in strengthening relationships with family and friends.

Improved physical and mental health

All survey respondents indicated that their physical and mental health had improved as a result of the program. There was a significant improvement in the health and behaviour of participants who had previously engaged in self-mutilating behaviours (cutting and/or burning). Female participants were found to require more extensive professional help, experiencing more depression and eating disorders, and practising more self-mutilation.

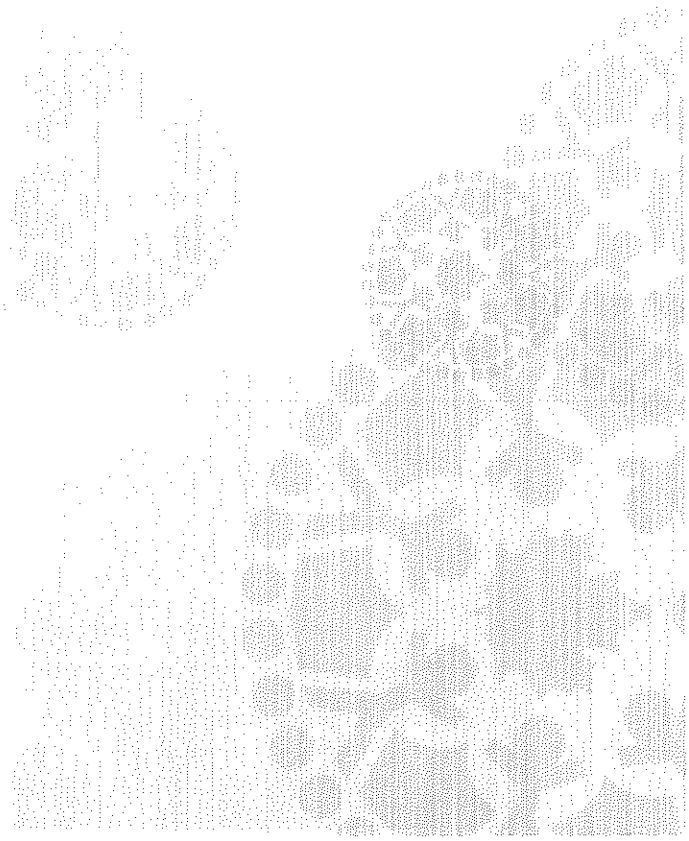
The program referred female participants to other programs that could address eating disorders, other mental disorders and unsafe sexual practices.

Recommendations

Parents played a pivotal role in this FAST program, and it was found that the active engagement of family was critical to the success of most participants. The evaluation recommended that the Day Suspension Program add a parental support group to future programs (during and after treatment) to give parents the opportunity to discuss their situation with others experiencing the same issues. The evaluation report also recommended that future FAST evaluations be designed to document longitudinal changes for a range of outcome variables and include a pre-test questionnaire.

Conclusion

The FAST Day Suspension Program successfully supported suspended students and helped them to: address behaviours related to drug use; reconnect with school and improve their school attendance and grades. The program also helped youth to: increase employability, strengthen pro-social relationships with family and peers and connect youth to programs to address physical and mental health issues.



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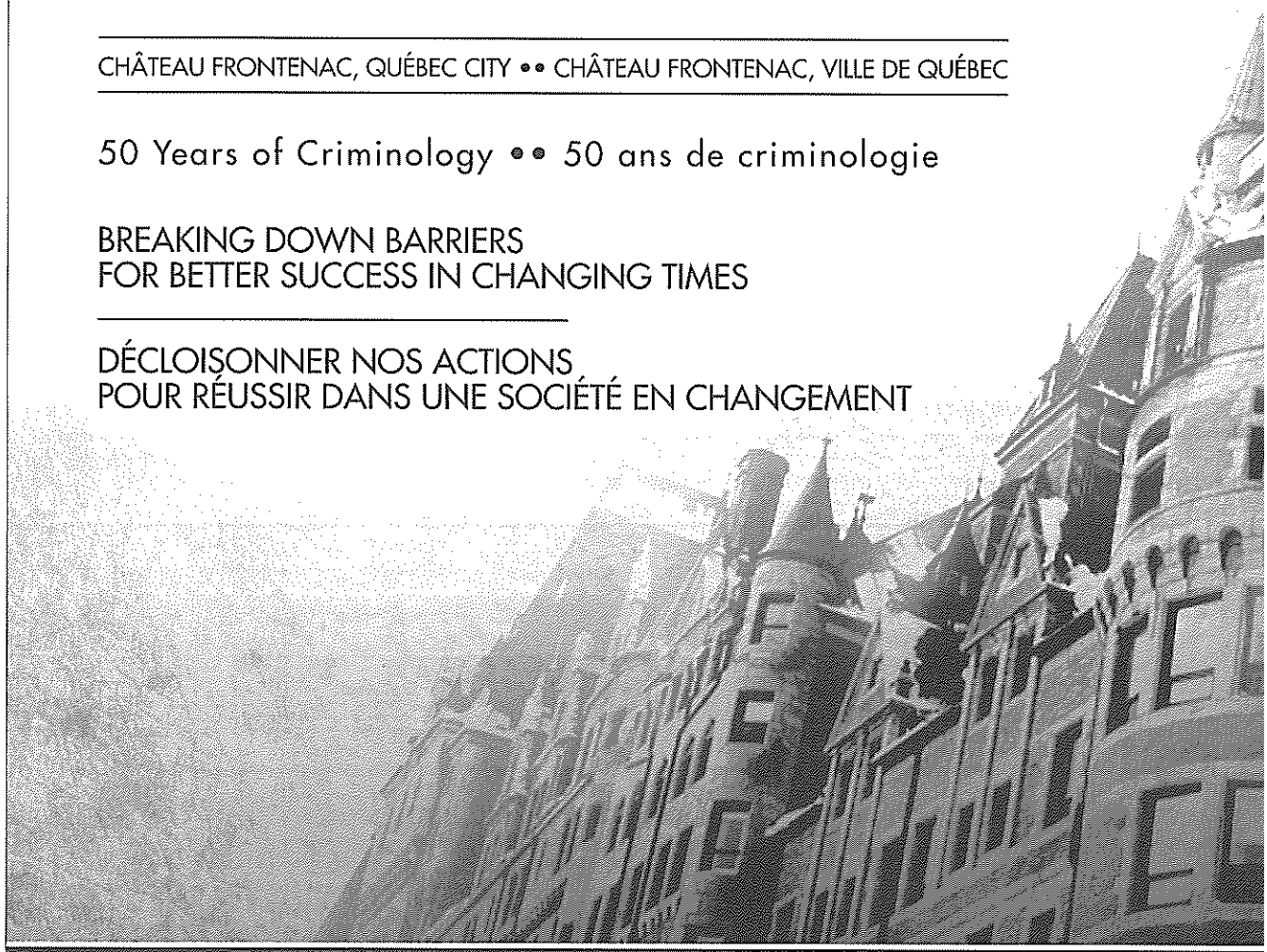

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2011 PAN-CANADIAN CONGRESS OF THE SOCIÉTÉ DE CRIMINOLOGIE DU QUÉBEC AND THE CANADIAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE ASSOCIATION

To underscore fifty years of criminological development, the Société de criminologie du Québec and the Canadian Criminal Justice Association have chosen to form a cooperative venture in order to make this a pan-Canadian collaborative congress that is also open to the international community. In this context, the Société de criminologie du Québec will celebrate its 50 years of existence. The site chosen for the Congress as well as the historical context surrounding it will make this a memorable event to which you are invited to participate to present your research findings, your intervention strategies, your initiatives towards offenders, young and adult, towards victims, and in the field of application and elaboration of criminal justice policy, as well as in the area of crime prevention.

Theme •• Thème : 50 Years of Criminology: Breaking Down Barriers for Better Success in Changing Times

Place •• Endroit : Québec City

Information •• Renseignements : www.societecrimino.qc.ca or www.ccja-acjp.ca

NOVEMBER •• NOVEMBRE, 16 - 19, 2011

2011 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CRIMINOLOGY

Theme •• Thème : Breaking the Mold: Innovations and Bold Ventures in Criminology

Place •• Endroit : Washington, DC

Information •• Renseignements : The Program Co-Chairs are Eric Baumer and Ryan King and they can be contacted at crim-asc2011@fsu.edu or 518 442.4647 | www.asc41.com/annualmeeting.htm

JULY •• JUILLET, 4-6, 2012

BRITISH SOCIETY OF CRIMINOLOGY CONFERENCE 2012: CRIMINOLOGY AT THE BORDERS

On the 4th – 6th July 2012, the Institute of Criminal Justice Studies (ICJS) at the University of Portsmouth will be host to the British Society of Criminology (BSC) annual conference. The conference will look to the future by delivering a progressive programme of talks, seminars and sessions themed around 'Criminology at the Borders'. A postgraduate conference (3rd – 4th July) will be held prior to the main BSC Conference.

This exciting event for the University will bring the BSC back to Portsmouth for the first time in 8 years and mark ICJS's 20th year anniversary celebrations. The conference will bring together industry and academia alike to learn new skills, share knowledge and succeed in raising the profile of their work.

Researchers and professionals in the Criminal Justice sector will be able to register for the BSC conference from early 2012. Places are limited and early booking is advised. The call for papers will open early in 2012.

Theme •• Thème : Criminology at the Borders **Place •• Endroit :** University of Portsmouth, UK

Information •• Renseignements : www.port.ac.uk/departments/academic/icj/bscconference2012/

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